Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

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PAGE 01 TEHRAN 07260 01 OF 03 151323Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----------038772 151329Z /41
O 151255Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4068

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 TEHRAN 7260

EXDIS

FOR SOBER FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: MASS, US, IR
SUBJ: AWACS ASSURANCES

REF: STATE 192466

1. APPRECIATE OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON PROPOSED TEXT OF "ASSURANCES" TO BE PROVIDED THE CONGRESS IN CONNECTION WITH THE AWACS SALE TO IRAN. OUR THOUGHTS ARE PREDICATED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT WHATEVER IS TRANS-MITTED WILL FIND ITS WAY INTO THE PUBLIC DOMAIN. THERE-FORE, WE BELIEVE THAT TEXT SHOULD ADDRESS IN BRIEFEST COMPASS SPECIFIC POINTS RAISED IN HUMPHREY LETTER. ELABORATION MAY BE REQUIRED IN GIVE AND TAKE OF RESUMED HEARINGS, BUT IT SHOULD NOT BE PART OF FORMAL TEXT WHICH WE ANTICIPATE WILL BE DIFFICULT NEGOTIATING WITH THE GOI IN ANY EVENT.

2. WE BELIEVE ASSURANCES WILL HAVE GREATER CHANCE OF BEING ACCEPTED BY GOI IF THEY ARE LIMITED TO SHORTENED, AS WELL AS EMENDED TEXT SET FORTH IN REVISED FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS. FEATURES THAT WE BELIEVE WOULD BE PARTICULARLY TROUBLESOME TO THE GOI IN REFTEL TEXT ARE: (A)
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PAGE 02 TEHRAN 07260 01 OF 03 151323Z

IMPLICATION TO POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES OF GOI THAT IRAN IS GETTING A DECIDEDLY INFERIOR SYSTEM; AND (B) SUGGESTION THAT IRAN'S IN-TEGRITY, RELIABILITY, AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY ARE BEING SUBORDINATED AND MADE SUBJECT OT U.S. JUDGMENTS AND DIRECTIONS.

3. WE BELIEVE THAT PROPOSED TEXT ADDRESSING FIRST HUMPHREY POINT (ENCIPHERMENT GEAR AND OTHER SENSITIVE EQUIPMENT) WOULD BE COM-

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

PLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO GOI. IT NOT ONLY MAKES CLEAR THAT IRANIAN AWACS WILL BE DECIDEDLY INFERIOR VERSION OF U.S. AWACS, BUT PROVIDES SPECIFIC INFORMATION TO ASSIST AN ADVERSARY OF IRAN TO COPE WITH THE CAPABILITY THAT THE E-3K WILL HAVE. WE CAN EXPECT GOI TO VIEW THIS AS A SERIOUS, AND PERHAPS FATAL, FLAW. WE BELIEVE TEXT SHOULD BE LIMITED TO STATEMENT THAT U.S. ENCIPHERMENT GEAR WILL NOT BE INCLUDED IN IRANIAN AWACS, FOLLOWED BY NOTATION--ITEM BY ITEM--OF OTHER EQUIPMENT NOT TO BE INCLUDED IN IRANIAN AWACS. A SECOND PARAGRAPH THEN WOULD BE:
BEGIN TEXT. THE ABSENCE OF THE EQUIPMENT LISTED ABOVE IN THE IRANIAN AWACS SIGNIFICANTLY MINIMIZES THE RISK OF USAF AWACS PERFORMANCE DEGRADATION THAT COULD RESULT FROM ANY SECURITY COMPROMISE OF THE IRANIAN AWACS. IN THE UNEXPECTED EVENT THE SOVIETS SHOULD ACQUIRE THE IRANIAN AWACS, THEREFORE, THE USAF AWACS WOULD STILL BE A SUPERIOR SYSTEM ABLE TO COUNTER SOVIET ACTIVITIES. END TEXT.
TO INCLUDE ALL THE COMPARATIVE MATERIAL AND INFORMATION WHICH IS CURRENTLY IN REFTEL TEXT IS NOT IN OUR VIEW NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE IN ANSWERING HUMPHREY'S POINT.

4. WITH RESPECT TO THE SECOND HUMPHREY POINT (SECURITY PRECAUTIONS), WE BELIEVE THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL UTILITY IN HAVING THE GOI TAKE AN EVEN MORE POSITIVE STANCE THAN THE U.S. OUR REVISED TEXT REFLECTS THIS.
BEGIN TEXT. THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN HAS ASKED THE US GOVERNMENT TO WORK WITH IT TO DEVELOP A SET OF SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS THAT
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WOULD ENSURE ADEQUATE PROTECTION OF THE AWACS AIRCRAFT TO BE PURCHASED BY IRAN. THIS WOULD BE IN ADDITION TO THE IRANIAN AND U.S.-IRANIAN SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WHICH HAVE PROVIDED SATISFACTORY PROTECTION FOR ALL U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT PREVIOUSLY SOLD TO IRAN. THE FRAMEWORK FOR ALL THE SECURITY MEASURES--BOTH SPECIAL AND NORMAL--IS THE U.S.-IRANIAN AGREEMENT OF JUNE 6, 1974 ON THE SAFEGUARDING OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION. IT PROVIDES THAT STRINGENT SECURITY PRECAUTIONS MUST BE OBSERVED BY IRAN WITH RESPECT TO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THE UNITED STATES. INFORMATION IS SPECIFICALLY DEFINED IN ITS BROADEST SENSE TO ENCOMPASS CLASSIFIED EQUIPMENT TRANSFER TO IRAN UNDER THE FOREIGN MILITARY SALES PROGRAM. IN PARTICULAR, THE AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR PERIODIC VISITS BY U.S. SECURITY EXPERTS TO DISCUSS PROCEDURES, EQUIPMENT, AND FACILITIES FOR THE PROTECTION OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION, AND TO ENSURE THAT SUCH INFORMATION IS RECEIVING ADEQUATE PROTECTION. THE IIAF REQUESTED IN JANUARY 1977 THAT A TEAM OF US PHYSICAL SECURITY EXPERTS SURVEY ALL IIAF FACILITIES FOR THIS PURPOSE. THAT SURVEY IS UNDERWAY AT THIS TIME.
IN RESPONSE TO THE GOI REQUEST NOTED IN PARA ONE ABOVE A JOINT US-URANIAN REVIEW OF AWACS SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WILL BEGIN AS SOON AS THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN SIGNS THE LOA. A PLAN WILL BE DEVELOPED COVERING SUCH MATTERS AS PERSONAL SECURITY, THE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

SECURITY OF FACILITIES, AND PERIODIC INSPECTIONS RELATING EX-
PRESSLY TO THE AWACS PROGRAM. THE GOI HAS SPECIFIED THAT THESE

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PAGE 01 TEHRAN 07260 02 OF 03 151421Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 0000

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 TEHRAN 7260

EXDIS

FOR SOBER FROM AMBASSADOR

ARRANGEMENTS MUST BE AGREED AND IN EFFECT BY THE TIME OF THE
ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST AWACS AIRCRAFT IN IRAN.
FINALLY, THE US RETAINS THE RIGHT UNDER THE STANDARD FORM FMS
CONTRACT OF SALE TO CANCEL THE SALE IN THE EVENT THAT
ADEQUATE SECURITY FOR AWACS IS NOT ACHIEVED. END TEXT.

5. WE BELIEVE THAT HUMPHREY'S THIRD POINT (DEFENSIVE PURPOSES)
CAN BE FULLY COVERED BY A BRIEFER RESPONSE. IT IS NOT NECESSARY
TO STATE IN WRITING WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF IRAN FAILS TO ABIDE BY
THE LIMITATIONS TO WHICH THE GOI IS SUBJECT; THE MAIN POINT IS TO
PLAY UP IRAN'S REASSURANCES THAT THE GOI RECOGNIZES AND WILL
MEET THE LIMITATIONS WITH RESPECT TO AWACS.
BEGIN TEXT. UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT,
THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT HAS ACCEPTED CERTAIN LIMITATIONS IN THE
USE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT SUPPLIED TO IT BY THE UNITED STATES.
THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN HAS ASSURED US THAT IT WILL OBSERVE
SCRUPULOUSLY SUCH LIMITATIONS IN ITS USE OF AWACS. SECTION 4 OF
THE FOREIGN MILITARY SALES ACT (INCLUDED IN THE ARMS EXPORT
CONTROL ACT OF 1976), ENTITLED "PURPOSES FOR WHICH MILITARY SALES
BY THE UNITED STATES ARE AUTHORIZED", STATES THAT PERMITTED USES
ARE FOR LEGITIMATE SELF-DEFENSE AND TO PERMIT THE RECIPIENT
COUNTRY TO PARTICIPATE IN REGIONAL OR COLLECTIVE ARRANGEMENTS
OR MEASURES REQUESTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE PURPOSE OF
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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

MAINTAINING OR RESTORING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.
IN ADDITION, IRAN IS A PARTY TO THE CHICAGO CONVENTION ON INTER-
NATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION OF DECEMBER 7, 1944. ARTICLE 3(C) OF
THAT CONVENTION PROVIDES WITH RESPECT TO STATE, E.G., MILITARY,
AIRCRAFT, THAT "NO STATE AIRCRAFT OF A CONTRACTING STATE
SHALL FLY OVER THE TERRITORY OF ANOTHER STATE...WITHOUT AUTHOR-
IZATION BY SPECIAL AGREEMENT OR OTHERWISE, AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH
THE TERMS THEREOF." END TEXT.

6. HUMPHREY'S FOURTH POINT (MULTIPLIER EFFECT) CAN, WE BELIEVE, BE
STRENGTHENED AND SHORTENED.
BEGIN TEXT. THE US GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE AWACS
"MULTIPLIER EFFECT" IN CONSIDERING ANY FUTURE IRANIAN REQUEST FOR
THE SALE OF ADDITIONAL SOPHISTICATED US FIGHTER AIRCRAFT.
IN THIS REGARD IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT EMPLOYMENT OF AWACS
WOULD NOT CREATE A SITUATION IN WHICH A LESSER NUMBER OF
FIGHTERS WOULD BE REQUIRED. THROUGH EMPLOYMENT OF AWACS A THREAT
SITUATION CAN BE SEEN SOONER AND MORE FULLY, THEREBY ALLOWING
FIGHTER RESOURCES TO BE MANAGED MORE EFFECTIVELY.
THROUGH THE USE OF AWACS ONE IS BETTER ABLE TO AVOID OVERREACTION
AND TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT. THUS, AWACS PROVIDES A STABILIZING
INFLUENCE.
THE NUMBER OF FIGHTERS REQUIRED FOR A GIVEN BATTLE IS DETERMINED,
AMONG OTHER THINGS, BY THE THREAT. REGARDLESS OF THE EFFECT-
IVENESS OF THE FRIENDLY FORCES THE NUMBER OF FIGHTERS LAUNCHED
MUST CONTINUE TO BE ADEQUATE TO COUNTER OPPOSING NUMBERS.
END TEST.

7. SENATOR HUMPHREY'S FIFTH POINT (TRAINING) CONTAINS TWO PRECISE
POINTS. THE ASSURANCE TEXT SHOULD NOT GO BEYOND ADDRESSING THEM.
THEREFORE, OUR REVISION DELETES TWO SENTENCES IN PARA ONE OF REFTEL
TEXT ON THIS ITEM.
BEGIN TEXT. INITIAL CADRE TRAINING OF IRANIAN CREWS FOR THE AWACS
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WILL TAKE PLACE ENTIRELY IN THE UNITED STATES. THIS WILL PROVIDE
IRAN WITH THE MEANS TO DEVELOP ON ITS OWN CREW SKILLS AND
QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE OPERATION OF THE AWACS IN IRAN. NO US
CITIZENS WILL PARTICIPATE IN ROUTI E OPERATIONAL MISSIONS OF
THE IRANIAN AWACS IN IRAN.
IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE IRANIAN AND AMERICAN GOVERN-
MENTS TO EXPEDITE THE TRAINING OF IRANIAN PERSONNEL AND TO
LIMIT THE NUMBER OF AMERICANS ASSIGNED TO IRAN TO SUPPORT THE
AWACS. MOREOVER, AS THE PROGRAM DEVELOPS THE USE OF AMERICAN AND
IRANIAN PERSONNEL ALREADY IN IRAN WORKING ON THE BOEING 707 WILL
BE EXPLOITED TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO REDUCE THE NUMBER
OF PERSONS REQUIRED FOR THE MAINTENANCE, LOGISTICS AND GROUND

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

SUPPORT ASSISTANCE AND TRAINING. END TEXT.

8. WITH RESPECT TO THE FINAL ITEM (ABSORPTION CAPACITY), WE RECOGNIZE THAT PROPOSED TEXT ANSWERS SENATOR HUMPHREY'S POINT, BUT WOULD SUGGEST ADDITION TO THE END OF FINAL SENTENCE, AS FOLLOWS: "WHICH IRAN DOES NOT CURRENTLY POSSESS". THIS WOULD AVOID FUTURE MISUNDERSTANDING, FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE CASE OF

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PAGE 01 TEHRAN 07260 03 OF 03 151340Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4070

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 TEHRAN 7260

EXDIS

FOR SOBER FROM AMBASSADOR

ADDTIONAL 140 F-16S NOW UNDER CONSIDERATION WITHIN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

9. WE LOOK FORWARD TO VON MARBOD'S ARRIVAL SHORTLY TO DEVELOP JOINTLY ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE WITH THE GOI. WE BELIEVE THAT REFTEL TEXT, AS REVISED IN THE PARAGRAPHS ABOVE, WILL MAKE THAT A CONSIDERABLY EASIER TASK WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ENSURING THAT THE ASSURANCES TEXT IS FULLY AND DIRECTLY RESPONSIVE TO THE HUMPHREY LETTER.
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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
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Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 15-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
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From: TEHRAN
Handling Restrictions:
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To: STATE
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EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
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